601

/For information on Tucano kinship terminology and the extension and application of these kin terms to the various component sibs of the five major phratries, see category 116, pp. 1-56./

105 /104 cont./
abduction, they practice the couvade, there is segregation of the woman during menstruation, there are initiation ceremonies for the boys who have reached puberty, and there is social stratification with castes.

177 [797] Since the arrival of the religious Missionary and the rubber worker in the region, two important phenomena have occurred. The most significant and most noticeable one is the rapid incorporation and diffusion of occidental material culture. The aluminum pot has replaced the pottery bowl, trousers have replaced the loincloth, the cotton dress has taken the place of the tree-bark skirt, hunting is no longer done with bow and arrow, but with a shotgun, and fishing is more often done with the fishhook than with the trap.

[182] [797] [584] [601] [595] [178] In the field of spiritual culture the influence of occidental culture has been more subtle and not so rapidly accepted. It is certain that the system of social organization is suffering a process of disintegration; the Indian who wishes to have a woman must be willing to settle in a mission, because the Missionaries have shrewdly gathered together all the women of marriageable age and have taken them to the Missions; the kinship terms no longer correspond to the present system; very few Indians still practice polyandry; but in spite of all this evidence, an adult Tukano Indian of today has not stopped thinking according to the typical Tukano mental processes. For example, Manuel Sierra, our interpreter, in spite of having lived for four consecutive years with his wife in the Departamento del Tolima, in Central Colombia, and in spite of having left the Vaupés at 17 years of age, still has the /105/ conviction that having eaten fish after the birth of his son without a Tukano shaman's having "blown" the food beforehand was the cause of the appearance of ulcers on his legs.

[262] [753] [178]

773 177 [128] [014] The Tukano cosmogony presented below shows clearly the phenomenon of the transculturation. The short time available for this first journey of contact with Tukano culture did not permit us to check this cosmogony with other informants. Our informant, Marcos Sierra, is a shaman in the settlement of Guadalajara, on the Paca River.

115 756

T
M /409 cont./
851 legitimate and belong to the father's tribe (4).
563

4. In Paraíba-poço, river Tiquié, a Tukano, upon presenting to be baptized a child he had had with a Makú, at first denied his paternity, saying that it "did not have a father."

T
101 Marriages between Taryana and Desãna do not take place. We
582 do not know the reasons, however; it does not seem to be because
563 of pride, because the Tukano themselves, considered the most noble group, marry Desãna, as well as Taryana. It is to be noted that the Taryana and Desãna idioms, belonging to different linguistic families, make us think in terms of a great distance between these tribes. Nevertheless they tell us that there is no marriage between them because they are "brothers."

T
582 Likewise, the Tukano do not marry the Bará. The Tukano
563 explain that the Bará are their grandparents, Pax-kõ-Ro. Nor the
614 Pirá-tapuya the Wanana and Arapásu; or the Arapásu the Miritĩ,
[601] Wanana, and Desana; nor the Taryana the Ipeka-tapuya; nor, finally, the Desana the Taryana, Tuyuka, Pira-tapuya, and Arapásu.

It is among the Miritĩ-tapuya that the largest number of interdictions is in force, that is, they cannot marry the Desana, Tuyuka, Arapásu, Pirá-tapuya, Ipeka-tapuya, and Taryana.

T
582 b) The second law is that of the exchange of the women of
614 one tribe for the women of another one. Or, with more accuracy, a father will give his daughter as a wife to the son of another family, in order to have a sister of the latter as a wife for his son.
T
*[192] It is what is called Põãperi or põãpeserí. And the young woman
[601] will call such a fellow bridegroom /Port. noivo/, that is, Mã-ra-põ nỹãkhõ (future husband) or even Põrã-kõ nỹãkhõ (future genitor); and, vice versa, he calls her Nõ'mõ nyãkho (future wife) or Põrá-ko nỹãkho (future genitress).

/409 cont./

000 Such a custom is imposed by the desire of the tribe to perpetuate itself.

591 /410/ The ambilian marriage is not known, that is, it is
614 not the young man who comes to live in the house of the in-laws; but it is the young woman who, through marriage, leaves hers and comes to constitute a family in another tribe.

They desire, then, that a woman from another tribe come to their povoado in order to constitute a new family. The exchange, it seems to us, is not equivalent to a depreciation of the woman or reducing her to the condition of an article of trade. It is a measure of precaution, so that the group will not become extinct, but, on the contrary, the men always remain united, and the tribal traditions and the cordial relations among its components are kept alive.

From this concept and practice some consequences follow:

582 1st. -- The first one is that in fact the so-called preferential
614 marriage is in force among them. The exchanges not only establish social relations between two malocas, but, as we shall see
[611] later, they conceive kinship as bilateral. But not only the maternal
[601] cousins in the strict sense (that is, the nephews and nieces of the mother herself), but all those of their generation of the maternal Gens (IV -- 2, a (2) ) are called brides and bridegrooms /Port. noivos/, Baxsú-kãra (those who are destined for marriage with us).

Let us concretize an example: the Tukano from Parí-cachoeira customarily seek their wives among the Tuyuka of the headwaters of the Tiquié. Then, for the young people of Parí-cachoeira, brides and bridegrooms, or Baxsúkãra, are all the Tuyuka of the
[601] younger generation of the maternal povoado. Or, more exactly, all the young persons of the maternal Gens are their brides and bridegrooms, -- because to each povoado ordinarily corresponds a different Gens, -- and among themselves they call each other "brothers" /Port. irmãos, brothers, brothers and sisters/ (Mamí or Axkabí, see VIII -- 1, c).

As a rule, it is a boy or a girl among the Baxsúkãra who will be the Mã-ra-põ nỹákhõ or the Nõ'mõ nỹakho.

/410 cont./

582
601

Those who belong to the generation of the parents of the Baxsúkãra (that is, all those who are considered "brothers" /Port. irmãos, brothers, brothers and sisters/ of the mother herself) are called "uncles," Mẽx-kã̃ (if a man) (5),

5. Notice that the niece must be called Mẽx-kã̃-sa.

or Mã̃-gõ̃ (if a woman).

All the Baxsúkãra, in direct discourse, that is, talking among themselves (see Kinship Nomenclature below), are called "cousin," Méõ̃-kõ̃ (child of the aunt, contraction of Waméõ̃ max-kõ̃), and the female cousin, Méõ̃-kõ̃. It is to be pointed out that the girl may not take the liberty of saying abbreviately Méõ̃-kõ̃, Méõ̃-kõ̃; she will always say Waméõ̃ max-kõ̃, Waméõ̃ max-kõ̃, in full.

After an individual has been married, all the cousins or Baxsúkãra (6)

6. It is to be remembered that within the tribe the individuals who belong to the same generation are called "brothers" /Port. irmãos, brothers, brothers and sisters/.

naturally become his cunhados /brothers-in-law, brothers- and sisters-in-law/, and he actually /411/ calls them this when he expresses himself in Portuguese. When he expresses himself in Tukano, he prefers to continue to call them Méõ̃-kõ̃ or Méõ̃-kõ̃; and the brothers-in-law in the strictest sense, that is, the blood brothers of his own wife, he will call Pẽ-ñã̃ (7).

7. The woman will use the term Nĩhĩ́-so pax-kõ̃ to the brothers-in-law older than her husband, and Buhĩ́-bakõ̃ to those younger than he.

/411 cont./

582 As an exception, the individual, instead of marrying a girl from the generation of the Baxsúkãra, perhaps will marry some-
• 601 one from the class of the "uncles" /Port. tios, uncles, uncles and aunts/, Mẽx-kã-sa or Mã-gõ. It is the components of this class who are now his brothers-in-law, Pẽ-ñã. In Tukano he may continue to call them "uncle," Mẽx-kã, or (if it is a matter of the niece) Mẽx-kã-sa, and in direct discourse he will use the name Pirĩ for the brothers-in-law in the strict sense.

584 2nd. -- A second one is that the negotiations and agreements are realized between the parents, without the ones to be married interfering or being consulted (8).

[797] 8. It has happened that the father has brought a wife for his son who is a student in the Mission school, forcing him to leave the school bench in order to marry.

It is highly reprehensible that, while the children enjoy enough freedom in the native family (it can be affirmed that those of the male sex enjoy absolute independence from the parents), on this subject, so serious because the marriage is indissoluble, they do not have any freedom at all (9)

9. "Slave marriage" was the expression of one Missionary, citing examples of the absolutism of the parental will against the manifest wishes of the young people.

and show the greatest docility toward the wishes of their parents.

581 Neither marriage for love nor the practice of courtship is known among them. It even seems that they are indifferent to
[584] physical beauty; it is certain that in all human groups there are individuals who are more or less sympathetic. No doubt these personal reasons might have an influence in premarital and

/421 cont./

593 Even already grown, the daughters are always at her side,
[857] helping her in the tasks.

/422/ One more proof of a certain equality with the husband,
[611] although the children belong to his tribe (27),
[601]

> 27. The European custom presents something similar: the woman, upon marrying, loses her family name, in order to adopt that of her husband, whose name will also be that of all their children.

is that bilateral kinship is established, as the kinship nomenclature proves (28).

> 28. The nomenclature can be characterized as bilateral, and, therefore, kinship as well. As a matter of fact, to certain terms of consanguinity correspond others of affinity.

This fact is all the more remarkable if we consider the spirit of these nations, and how the parents-in-law, the brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, etc., among whom there are friendly relations, are necessarily from another tribe.

[421] It is recognized that the wife has the right of ownership of her
[178] trousseau and what she makes; and such a right has started having
[177] an ever larger field in which to be exercised. Nowadays it is
[439] common to see the woman selling to the civilized the flour that she made and buying for herself fabrics, thread, buttons, needles, scissors, and even objects that we would call luxuries, ribbons, hairpins, hairdressing, etc.

622 The woman can even exercise the functions of Tuxaua (29),
562
756
[124]

> 29. Upon presenting such a question to the natives, some answered yes, and others, more numerous, no. Since there are no written laws, they can only deduce from the facts. Now

562 /445 cont./
881 without the cutting of the hair, however. At the following men-
*[192] struation, Məhẽka-nĩhẽ, the practices of the puberty initiation are done again. This time, however, there is no segregation of the young woman, and all the acts take place with more solemnity, in view of everybody.

c) Nomenclature of kinship and of affinity.

1) Kinship.

611 Among the tribes of the Uaupés it is generation /Port. geração,
• [601] generation, procreation, descent/ that establishes true kinship. They recognize it not only between ancestors (hõx-kãkõra, grandparents) and descendants (marĩ-bero-maxsã), but also in the collateral line. And kinship imposes two very grave obligations, that is, that of defense (vengeance) and that of matrimonial interdiction.

602 The components of the same tribe, although born and living
619 in different malocas or povoados, are considered axkawerẽra (86),
[601]
[178]

> 86. The term axkawerẽra is beginning to be extended also to the individuals of another tribe connected by ties of affinity and of blood.

a term translated by those who speak Portuguese by "parentes" /relatives/ and sometimes also by "irmãos" /brothers/. For this reason we are of the opinion (VIII-2, a) that initially the local group coincided with the family.

*192 Those of another tribe, even those connected by some degree
609 of affinity, or consanguinity, and also the civilized are all axpẽra (87),

> 87. Axpẽra, properly speaking, is the plural of the pronoun and adjective axpĩ (masculine) and axpego, feminine, other.

that is strangers, foreigners.

602 /446/
619 True kinship, therefore, exists only between the individuals of the same tribe, and with all of them.

2) Affinity.

582 Although strict tribal exogamy is in force, marriage establishes between the children and the relatives of both their father and their mother relations of affinity, similar to those of kinship (not, however, the obligations of vengeance and of matrimonial interdiction) and with a special nomenclature, although not as rich in terms as that of kinship.

582 Since "preferential marriage" is in force (usually with the first cousins of another tribe), that is, with the first cousins on
601 the mother's side, or baxsú-kãra (Masc. sing. baxsukõ, Fem. sing.
602 baxsuko), they admit the relation of affinity of the baxsukãra among themselves, as well as between the parents and the class of the "possible spouses" of the children. There are appropriate terms for these "possible spouses," "possible parents-in-law," and "possible children-in-law."

601 There might perhaps not even exist a term to express the relation of affinity; then they use a term for the relation of kin-
602 ship. For example, the native idioms of the Uaupés do not have terms corresponding to stepfather, stepmother, stepson, stepdaughter. In indirect discourse they describe the relation that exists, that is, one is called: "husband of my mother" (stepfather), "wife of my father" (stepmother), "son or daughter of my husband, or of my wife" (stepson, stepdaughter). And in direct discourse one is called by the name of the relation (uncle, grandfather, etc.), and they will call the stepchildren "children."

601 There are indeed terms, although also classificatory, that is, applicable to a whole class of individuals, corresponding to son-in-law and brother-in-law, but used almost solely for indirect discourse. For direct discourse they prefer the terms of social kinship; of these terms we shall indicate only the most common

/446 cont./

• 601 one, that is, the one that occurs in the generality of the cases. For example, ordinarily the father-in-law, "ma-ñĩx-kã̄," belongs to the class of the "maternal uncles" and will be called mẽx-kã̄. As an exception he might be in the class of the "cousins" (meõ-kȭ or tẽ-nȭ) or of the grandparents (ñȭx-kã̄) and would then be called by these terms, and not by mẽx-kã̄.

Likewise the "son-in-law," buhĩ, in direct discourse is called paxkhȭ by the father-in-law, and para-maxkȭ by the mother-in-law, because ordinarily he is one of the nephews (whose mother is "sister" of the father-in-law, and the father, brother of the mother-in-law).

In the same way the "brother-in-law," pẽ-ñã̄, as a rule is one of the baxsukãra or cousins, and thus in direct discourse will be called a cousin, meõ-kȭ (or tẽ-ñȭ, bridegroom). As an exception he might belong to the class of the "uncles," mẽx-kã̄, or of the "grandparents," ñȭx-kã̄. We shall not /447/ indicate, for reasons of brevity, those other terms which are already listed among those of kinship.

N.B. The wife in indirect discourse uses a special term, nihĩ-so-paxkȭ, to designate the brothers-in-law who are mamĩ of the "Gens" of her husband. Whereas the term nihĩ-so-paxko (pl. nihĩ-so-paxko-nũ'mya) is the equivalent of "concunhada" /co-sister-in-law," wife of husband's brother/.

3) Classificatory nomenclature.

The kinship nomenclature used not only by the Tukano, but also by the other tribes of the Uaupés, is essentially a classificatory nomenclature. With more accuracy, it is a matter of kinship which could be qualified as social or tribal, rather than as personal relations (88).

88. We began by verifying several times that a youth would call some individual of his tribe his "uncle," "mẽẽ," when, through later questioning, the latter proved not to be a brother of his father.

/447 cont./

• 601 The only terms actually individualizing seem to be those which correspond to father, "pax-kõ," and mother, "paxkõ" (89),

> 89. That means, then, that "pai" /father/ and "mãe" /mother/ are the only kinship terms in the Portuguese language that have perfect equivalents in Tukano and in the other native languages of the Uaupés. All the rest, whether of consanguinity (such as grandfather, grandmother, brother, sister, uncle, cousin, nephew, etc.) or of affinity (father-in-law, son-in-law, brother-in-law, etc.), do not have a precise translation in these native idioms. To the wife, for example, "ma-ĩĩ-kõ̃," which we have translated as "sogro" /father-in-law/, is not only the father of her husband; it is all the men of the tribe of the husband who make up the category of those whom the latter calls "mẽ̃ẽ̃" (uncle). The very terms corresponding to "son," "max-kõ̃," "daughter," "max-kõ," are also applied to a whole class of persons.

which are applied to one's own genitors in the strict sense. All the other kinship terms, such as brother, uncle, brother-in-law, etc., are applied to a class of individuals, whether they might be connected to one another by a bond of consanguinity or affinity, or not. It is enough that they are of the same tribe and of the same generation (even though with a great difference in age) as one who is really a brother, uncle, brother-in-law, etc.

For example, within the tribe, all the individuals of the male sex in one's own generation are called mamĩ or axkabĩ (they translated them into Portuguese as "irmão" /brother/). They call "mẽ̃ẽ̃," uncle, those of their father's generation, that is, the brothers of their own father (that is, all the mamĩ or axkabĩ of

/447 cont./

601 their own father) and are called by them "mɛ̃-kʊ̃," nephew. And those of their grandparents' generation they call grandfather, "pax-kʊ̃-ro," and are called by them "paramĩ," grandchildren, or max-kʊ̃-kʊ̃, "child-of-my-child."

/448/ As for the "brothers," if they are such in the strict sense (that is, children of the same father and the same mother), the older one is called mamĩ (they translate it "bigger brother") and the younger, axkabĩ ("smaller brother").

When it is a matter of "tribal brother," that is, of the individuals of the tribe who make up one and the same generation or layer, the terms mamĩ and axkabĩ are independent of age; they are, instead, a function of the group. That is, all those of the more important "Gens" (see VIII-3, c /see VIII-3, d/) (we use the Latin term "gens" in order to designate the subdivisions of the tribe or sib of the American Ethnologists), whatever their ages might be, are mamĩ; all those of the inferior "Gens" are axkabĩ. That is, an entire "Gens" (without taking into account the ages of its members) is called mamĩ or axkabĩ of another.

Let us imagine the case of the individual X, who has five children, successively A, B, C, D, E; of which B, C, D are of the male sex, and A, E of the female sex. It is to be observed: [126] [162] 1st, that five is actually the average number of children, according to our "anthropometric file cards"; 2nd, that they wish to have children of both sexes, and that an older daughter is a valuable helper of the mother in raising the younger children. The older daughter A will be mamyó of all the brothers and sisters; the younger daughter E will likewise be axkabyó of all. If we consider the son C, he will be mamĩ of D and E and axkabĩ of A and B.

Let us further suppose that the brothers B, C, D marry (90)

[582] [611]

90. A and E will obligatorily marry husbands, baxsukʊ̃, from another tribe; their children, however, do not belong to tribe X (grandfather), but to that of the father himself. The children of A and E

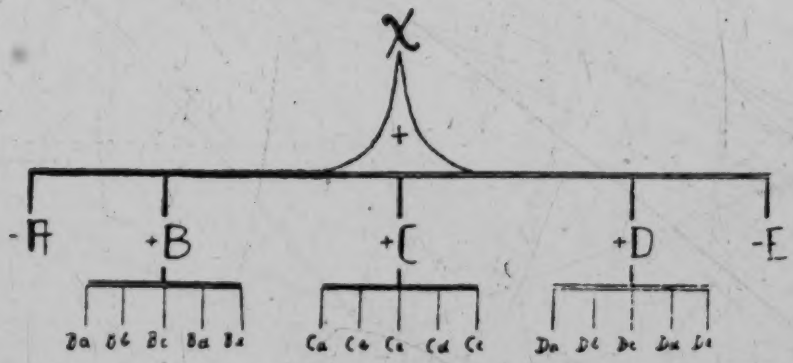
/448 cont./

• 601

/footnote 90 cont./ (and all the young people of their tribe and layer) make up in turn the class of the baxsukãra or "possible brides and bridegrooms" (that is, of those who can be taken as spouses) of the children of B, C, and D.

and likewise come to have five children each; the children of B: Ba, Bb, Bc, Bd, Be, those of C: Ca, Cb, Cc, Cd, Ce, those of D: Da, Db, Dc, Dd, De.

We would have the following tree:




Genealogical Tree

/449/ a) X in this tree, in relation to the first generation, is pax-kõ, father; in relation to those of the second generation he is pax-kõ-Ro (literally old-father, that is, grandfather).

b) The first generation A, B, C, D, E among themselves are mamí, mamyó, axkabí, axkabyó, as we saw above.

In relation to X, they will be: "max-kõ," son, or "max-kõ," daughter (in the plural "põra," sons, daughters).

Relative to the second generation, they are "pax-kõ," father, or "mẽẽ," uncle; that is, B, for example, is "pax-kõ" for those of the series B, and "mẽẽ" for those of the series C and D; these

/449 cont./

• 601 will call B "mɛ̃ɛ̃," and B will call them "mekõ," nephew (N.B. He will call the niece "max-kõ," daughter, and the niece will call him "mã-gã," because "mɛ̃ɛ̃" is a term used by the men, and "mã-gã" only by the women).

c) In the second generation (Ba, Bb, Bc, Bd, Be, Ca, Cb, Cc, Cd, Ce, Da, Db, Dc, Dd, De), they distinguish one another among themselves with mamĺ, mamyó, axkabĺ, axkabyó, according to their ages, within the same series. Independently of the ages, however, those of series B are all mamĺ (or mamyó if a woman) for those of the series C and D, because B is mamĺ of C and D. Those of the series D are all axkabĺ (or axkabyó, being a woman) for those of the series B and C, without taking into account the ages of the individuals, because D is axkabĺ of B and C. Those of the series C, also independently of their ages, are mamĺ for those of the series D, and axkabĺ for those of the series B.

In relation to X, all are called "paramɛ̃ra," grandchildren (paramɛ̃ra is plural; Masc. sing. paramaĩ; F. sing. paramỹõ). It is to be noted that all the men of the generation of X (his mamĺ or axkabĺ) are considered pax-kõ-Ro, grandparents, of the second generation.

4) Variations in the nomenclature.

d) /sic/ The nomenclature of kinship and affinity, as will be seen later, varies according to:

1st. -- The relationships of consanguinity or affinity between the persons named and naming;

2nd. -- The hierarchical position of the "Gens" to which the persons named and naming belong;

/449 cont./

• 601

3rd. -- The sex of the persons naming and named (the letter m indicates that the term is used exclusively by persons of the male sex; f, only by persons of the female sex; m, f, when by both sexes).

4th. -- The social age, or, better, the generation of the one who names.

/450/ 5th. -- There are, in some cases, different terms for direct discourse (appelative or vocative), that is, between the two relatives; or for indirect discourse (designative or nominative), that is, between the relative who speaks, referring to his relative, and a third person. For example, "axkabí" is the term that means "smaller brother" (younger); nevertheless, in direct discourse, that is, in calling the younger brother, the older one will say: "a'tyá nĩhʔã" (come here, nĩhʔa, dear brother /Port. mano/). Likewise axkabyó means "smaller sister" (younger); nevertheless, the older one calls her: "a'tyá nũmyó" (come here, nũmyó, dear sister /Port. mana/).

6th: -- In many cases, speaking with someone about some relative (indirect discourse), the relation of consanguinity or of affinity is described; for this reason we also record the descriptive nomenclature.

When there is no proper term to indicate the relation of kinship and especially of affinity, one has recourse to the descriptive term. Many individuals, either out of ignorance or for facilitation, have recourse to the descriptive terms even when there are proper or adequate terms.

From these concepts arose a nomenclature that is quite complex and richer in terms than that of the Portuguese language (or of the European customs), although it does not attain perfect logical rigor.

/450 cont./

601

5) The terms of kinship and affinity

(according to the Tukano customs)

Prior observations:

1st. -- According to the native pronunciation, the terms seem to us to be compound (cf. Observações Gramaticais, da língua Daxseyé ou Tukano /Gramatical Observations of the Daxseyé or Tucano language/); for this reason we separate with a hyphen (-) the various elements that make up the words.

2nd. -- Besides the descriptive (or explicative) term, we shall give the nominative (indirect or designative), that is, when in conversation with a third person one wants to indicate the relative (ex. "N. is my cousin"), and the vocative term (direct or appelative), that is, when one calls the relative (ex. "O cousin, come here").

3rd. -- The Tukano tribe (like all those of the Uaupés in general) is divided into groups (cf. IV -- 2, a (2 b)); it is these that we denoncinate with the Latin term "Gens."

4th. -- They did not know how to explain to us why they call the "cousin" of the same tribe mamĩ max-kõ or axkabĩ max-kõ, that is, "son of the brother." They only answered that it is the custom. There are confused, then, the /451/ descriptive terms of "cousin" and "nephew." It is true that in practice they never use the term described for the "cousins."

5th. -- The nomenclature below is in force in the Tukano tribe and does not always correspond to the similar term (with regard to the radical) in another tribe of sister language.

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6th. -- The spouses call each other mãã-ba (you) when they do not have any children. After the birth of the first son (or daughter) and until the death of this one, they call each other, respectively: "N (name of the child) pax-kõ or N. pax-ko, that is, "Father (or mother) of N." When the first child dies, they say the name of the next one. If they no longer have any children, they go back to calling each other mãã-ba.

| Kinship | Descriptive Term | Descriptive Term | Descriptive Term | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Father | | Pax-kõ (pl. pax-kõ-s'ömõa) | yõõ pax-kõ (my father) | m,f |
| Mother | | pax-ko (pl. pax-ko-sa-nũmya) | yõõ pax-ko | m,f |
| Paternal grandfather | yõõ pax-kõ paxkõ (father of my father) | pax-kõ-Ro (pl. pax-kõ-Rokõra) (old-father) | yõõ pax-kõ-Ro | m,f |
| Old men of the tribe | | pax-kõ-Ro | yõõ pax-kõ-Ro | m,f |
| Maternal grandfather | yõõ pax-ko pax-kõ (father of my mother) | ñõx-kã (pl. ñõx-kãkõra) | yõõ ñõxkã | m,f |
| | | or ñõx-kã-Ro (ñõ-kã-Rokõra) | yõõ ñõx-kã-Ro | m,f |
| Paternal grandmother | yõõ pax-kõ pax-ko (mother of my father) | ma:-ko (maa-ko) (pl. ma:kokõra) | yõõ ma:-ko | m,f |
| Old women of the tribe | | wa-meõ-ko (pl. wa-meõ-kokõra) (old-aunt) | yõõ wa-meõ-ko | m,f |
| Maternal grandmother | yõõ pax-kó pax-kó (mother of my mother) | wa-meõ-ko (if from the tribe) | yõõ wa-meõ-ko | m,f |
| | | ma:-ko (if from another tribe) | yõõ ma:-ko | m,f |
| Son | | max-kõ (pl. põra) | yõõ max-kõ | m,f |
| Daughter | | max-kõ (pl. põra nũ'mya) | yõõ max-kõ | m,f |
| Bigger brother | (of the more important Gens) | Mami (pl. mami-s'ömõa) or (mami-kõra) | yõõ mami | m,f |
| Bigger sister | (of the more important Gens) | Mamyo (pl. mamyokõra) | yõõ mamyo | m,f |
| Smaller brother | (of the less important Gens) | nihỹã (pl. nihỹãkõra) | yõõ nihỹã | m,f |
| Smaller sister | (of the less important Gens) | or axkabi (pl. axkabira) | yõõ kabi | m,f |
| Bigger or smaller brother | | axkabyo (pl. axkabira nũ'mya) | yõõ pana-mõ | f |
| | | nũmyo (pl. nũmyokõra). | yõõ nũmyo | m |
| | | pana-mõ (pl. pana-mõa) | yõõ kabyo | f |
| Paternal male cousin | yõõ mami max-kõ (son of my mami) | mami | yõõ mami | m,f |
| | yõõ kabi max-kõ (son of my axkabi) | nihỹã | yõõ nihỹã | m,f |
| Paternal female cousin | yõõ mami max-kõ (daughter of my mami) | axkabi | yõõ kabi | m,f |
| | | mamyo | yõõ mamyo | m,f |
| | yõõ kabi max-kõ (daughter of my axkabi) | nũmyo | yõõ nũmyo | m |
| | | axkabyo | yõõ kabyo | m,f |

| Kinship | Descriptive Term | Descriptive Term | Nominative Term | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Maternal male cousin | yõõ wa-meõ max-kõ (son of my aunt) | meõ-kõ (pl. meõ-kõkõra) | yõõ meõ-kõ | m |
| | | wa-meõ max-kõ (pl. wameõ max-kõkõra). | yõõ wa-meõ maxkõ | f |
| Maternal female cousin | yõõ wa-meõ max-kõ (daughter of my aunt) | meõ-kõ (pl. meõ-kõkõra) | yõõ mẽ-kõ | m |
| | | wa-meõ max-kõ (pl. wameõ maxkõ-kõra) | yõõ wa-meõ maxkõ | f |
| Paternal uncle | yõõ pax-kõ mami (or axkabí) (mamí or axkabí of my father) | mẽẽ (pl. mẽẽkõra) | yõõ mẽẽ | m |
| | | mã-gã (pl. mã-gãkõra) | yõõ mã-gã | f |
| Paternal aunt | yõõ pax-kõ mamyo (axkabyo) (mamyó or axkabyó of my father) | wa-meõ (pl. wa-meõkõra) | yõõ wa-meõ | m,f |
| | | mẽx-kã (pl. mẽx-kãkõra) | yõõ mẽx-kã | m |
| Maternal uncle | yõõ pax-ko mamí (or axkabí) (mamí or axkabí of my mother) | mẽx-kã-sa (pl. mẽxkã-sakõra) | yõõ mẽx-kã-sa | f |
| Maternal aunt | yõõ pax-ko mamyo (axkabyo) (mamyó or axkabyó of my mother) | mã-gõ (pl. mã-gõkõra) | yõõ mã-gõ | m,f |
| Nephew (brother's son) | yõõ mami (or kabí) max-kõ (son of my mamí or axkabí) | mẽ-kõ (pl. mẽ-kõkõra) | yõõ mẽ-kõ | m |
| | | para-maxkõ (pl. para-maxkõkõra) | yõõ para-maxkõ | f |
| Niece (brother's daughter) | yõõ mami (or kabí) max-kõ (daughter of my mamí or axkabí) | max-kõ (daughter) | yõõ max-kõ | m |
| | | para-maxkõ (pl. para-maxkõkõra) | yõõ para-maxkõ | f |
| Nephew (sister's son) | yõõ mamyo (kabyo) max-kõ (son of my mamyó or axkabyó) | paa-khõ (pl. paa-khõkõra) | yõõ paa-khõ | m |
| | | yõõ mamyo (kabyo) max-kõ | yõõ max-kõ | f |
| Niece (sister's daughter) | yõõ mamyo (kabyo) max-kõ (daughter of my mamyó or axkabyó) | paa-khõ pl. paa-khõkõra) | yõõ paa-khõ | m |
| | | yõõ mamyo (kabyo) max-kõ | yõõ max-kõ | f |
| Grandson | yõõ max-kõ max-kõ (son of my son) | para-mĩ (pl. para-mẽra) | yõõ para-mĩ | m,f |
| | | | or yõõ max-kõ-kõ (pl. maxkõ-kõkõra) | m |
| Granddaughter | yõõ max-kõ max-kõ (daughter of my son) | para-myõ (pl. para-mẽra nũmya) | yõõ parã-myõ | m |
| | | | or yõõ max-kõ-kõ | m |
| Grandson | yõõ max-kõ max-kõ (son of my daughter) | para-mĩ | yõõ para-mĩ | m,f |
| | | | or yõõ max-kõ-kõ | m |
| Granddaughter | yõõ max-kõ max-kõ (daughter of my daughter) | para-mỹõ | yõõ para-mỹõ | m,f |
| | | | or yõõ max-kõ-kõ | m |
| Spouse | yõõ põra pax-kõ (father of my children) | mã-ra-põ (pl. mã-ra-pö-s'ömöa) | mãã-ba or N. pax-kõ (you, or Father of N.) | f |

| Kinship | Nominative Term | Nominative Term | Nominative Term | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Wife | yõõ põra pax-ko (mother of my children) | nö'mé (pl. nö'mé-sa-nu'mya) | mãã-ba or N. pax-kõ (you, or Mother of N.) | m |
| Stepfather | yõõ pax-ko mã-ra-põ (husband of my mother) | | | |
| | a) from the 1st husband's tribe | mẽẽ (paternal uncle) | yõõ mẽẽ | m |
| | | mã-gã (paternal uncle) | yõõ mã-gã | f |
| | b) from another tribe | mẽx-kã (maternal uncle) | yõõ mẽ-kã | m |
| | | mẽx-kã-sa (maternal uncle) | yõõ mẽ-kã-sa | f |
| Stepmother | yõõ pax-kõ nö'mé (wife of my father) | | | |
| | a) from the 1st wife's tribe | mã-gõ (maternal aunt) | yõõ mã-gõ | m,f |
| | b) from another tribe | mã-gõ | yõõ mã-gõ | m,f |
| Stepson | yõõ nö'mé max-kõ (son of my wife) | yõõ nö'mé max-kõ | yõõ max-kõ | m |
| | yõõ mã-ra-põ max-kõ (son of my husband) | yõõ mã-ra-põ max-kõ | yõõ max-kõ | f |
| Stepdaughter | yõõ nö'mé max-kẽ (daughter of my wife) | yõõ nö'mé max-kẽ | yõõ max-kẽ | m |
| | yõõ mã-ra-põ max-kẽ (daughter of my husband) | yõõ mã-ra-põ max-kẽ | yõõ max-kẽ | f |
| Father-in-law | yõõ nö'mé pax-kõ (father of my wife) | ma-fíx-kã (pl. ma-fíx-kã-s'ömõa) | yõõ mẽx-kã (uncle) | m |
| | yõõ mã-ra-põ pax-kõ (father of my husband) | ma-fíx-kã | yõõ mẽx-kã-sa | f |
| Mother-in-law | yõõ nö'mé pax-ko (mother of my wife) | | | |
| | a) from son-in-law's tribe | ma-fíx-kõ (pl. ma-fíx-kõ-sa-nũ'mya) | yõõ wamẽõ (pat. aunt) | m |
| | b) from another tribe | ma-fíx-kõ | yõõ mã-gõ (mat. aunt) | m |
| | yõõ mã-ra-põ pax-ko (mother of my husband) | | | |
| | a) from daughter-in-law's tribe | ma-fíx-kẽ | yõõ wa-mẽõ | f |
| | b) from another tribe | ma-fíx-kẽ | yõõ mã-gẽ | f |

| Kinship | Vocative Term | Vocative Term | Nominative Term |
|---|---|---|---|
| Son-in-law | yõõ max-kõ mã-ra-põ (husband of my daughter) | | |
| | a) whose mother is from the father-in-law's tribe | buhi (pl. buhi-s'õmõa or buhikõra) | yõõ pa:-kõ (nephew) m |
| | | | yõõ para-maxkõ f |
| | b) whose mother is not from the father-in-law's tribe | buhi | yõõ ti-khã m (pl. ti-khãkõra) |
| | | | yõõ mamyo (kabyo) maxkõ f |
| Daughter-in-law | yõõ max-kõ nõ'mõ (wife of my son) | ti-khõ (pl. ti-khõkõra) para-maxkõ | yõõ ti-khã m<br>yõõ para-maxkõ f |
| Possible bridegroom | a) whose mother is from the tribe of the one speaking | baxsukõ (pl. baxsukãra) | yõõ meõ-kõ (cousin) m<br>yõõ wameõ-maxkõ f |
| | b) whose mother is not from the tribe of the one speaking | baxsukõ | yõõ tẽ-ñõ m (pl. tẽ-ñõkõra)<br>yõõ maẽ-pa-maxkõ f (pl. maẽ-pa-maxkõkõra) |
| Possible bride | a) whose mother is from the tribe of the one speaking | baxsuko (pl. baxsukãra nũ'mya) | yõõ meõ-kõ (cousin) m<br>yõõ wameõ-maxkõ f |
| | b) whose mother is not from the tribe of the one speaking | baxsuko | yõõ tẽ-ñõ m (pl. tẽ-ñõkõra)<br>yõõ maẽ-pa-maxkõ f (pl. maẽ-pa-makõkõra) (= nephew of my mother) |
| Possible father-in-law | yõõ baxsukãra pax-kõ (father of my brides or grooms) | yõõ baxsukãra pax-kõ | yõõ mẽx-kã (uncle) m<br>yõõ mẽx-kã-sa f |
| Possible mother-in-law | yõõ baxsukãra pax-ko (mother of my brides or grooms) | | |
| | a) from tribe of the one speaking | yõõ baxsukãra pax-ko ..... | yõõ wa-meõ (pat. aunt) m,f |
| | b) from another tribe | yõõ baxsukãra pax-kõ | yõõ mã-gõ (mat. aunt) m,f |
| Possible son-in-law | yõõ põra baxsukõ (bride or groom of my children) | | |
| | a) whose mother is from the tribe of the one speaking | yõõ põra baxsukõ | yõõ pa:-kõ (nephew) m |
| | whose father is from the tribe of the one speaking | yõõ põra baxsukõ | yõõ mami (kabi) max--kõ f |

| Kinship | Vocative Term | Vocative Term | Nominative Term | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | b) whose mother is not from the tribe of the one speaking | yõõ põra baxsukõ | yõõ ti-khõ (pl. ti-khõkõra) | m |
| | whose father is from the tribe of the one speaking | yõõ põra baxsukõ | yõõ mami (kabi) max-kõ | f |
| Possible daughter-in-law | yõõ põra baxsuko (bride of my sons) | | | |
| | a) whose mother is from the tribe of the one speaking | yõõ põra baxsuko | yõõ pá:-khõ (niece) | m |
| | whose father is from the tribe of the one speaking | yõõ põra baxsuko | (pl. pá:khõ kõra) yõõ mami (kabi) max-kõ | f |
| | b) whose mother is not from the tribe of the one speaking | yõõ põra baxsuko | yõõ ti-khõ (pl. ti-khõkõra) | m |
| | whose father is from the tribe of the one speaking | yõõ põra baxsuko | yõõ mami (kabi) max-kõ | f |
| Brother-in-law | yõõ nõ'mã mami (axkabi) (brother of my wife) | | | |
| | a) married to meõ-kõ | põ-ñã (pl. põ-ñã-s'õmõa) or põ-ñãkõra) | | |
| | b) married to tẽ-õõ | põ-ñã | yõõ meõ-kõ (cousin) | m |
| | c) married into a tribe different from that of the brides and bridegrooms | põ-ñã | yõõ tẽ-ñõ (bridegroom) yõõ piri (91) (pl. pirikõra) | m m |

91. According to the information obtained, the term piri is recent and used in all the native languages of the Brazilian Uaupés. It seems to us that it is a corruption of the Portuguese term "primo" /cousin/, which, due to faulty pronunciation, they customarily distort into "pirimo." The following are the arguments that authorize this opinion: 1st, some of the informants do not know the term piri; still more numerous are those who do not know piri-mo or piri-mõ and piri-ma; 2nd, of those who have indicated these terms, no one was able to indicate the plural of piri-mo and of piri-ma, and rare were those who presented that of piri; 3rd, according to the spirit of the Tukano language, piri-mo should be the feminine form.

This acceptance of terms from another language is easy. For example, Antônio Barreto (Tukano) informed us that one of his maternal aunts (mĩ-gõ), who in her first marriage had a Tukano (mẽẽ of the informant) for a husband, married a man from the Yebá-maxsã tribe in her second marriage. Not being able to call him "mẽẽ," of course, he called his new uncle "yõ-ti," a term unknown to the other informants and which in all probability is a corruption of the Portuguese "tio" /uncle/ (yõ-ti would be an abbreviation of yõõ tio, my uncle).

601 [1147] /457/ 4: Silva--696 M-4,5 (1947-1959) 1962 SOI9 Tucano SOI9

| Kinship | Vocative Term | Vocative Term | Vocative Term | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | or yõõ sẽi-mõ (92) | m |
| | yõõ mã-ra-põ mami (brother of my husband) | | | |
| | a) married to wameõ-maxkõ | nihi-so-paxkõ (pl. + s'ömõa) (only the mami of the "Gens") | yõõ wameõ-maxkõ | f |
| | | buhi-bakõ (pl. buhi-bakõra) | yõõ wameõ-maxkõ | f |
| | b) married to maõ-pa-maxkõ | buhi-bakõ | yõõ maõ-pa-maxkõ | f |
| | c) married into a tribe different from that of the "brides and grooms" | buhi-bakõ | yõõ piri-mõ | f |
| Sister-in-law | yõõ nõ'mõ mamyo (kabyo) (sister of my wife) | | | |
| | a) married to meõ-kõ | buhi-bako (pl. buhi-bakokõra) | yõõ meõ-kõ (cousin) | m |
| | b) married to tẽ-ñõ | buhi-bako | yõõ tẽ-ñõ (bridegroom) | m |
| | c) married into a tribe different from that of the "brides and grooms" | buhi-bako | yõõ p'ri-ma | m |
| | yõõ mã-rapõ mamyo (kabyo) (sister of my husband) | | | |
| | a) married to wameõ-maxkõ | syõ (pl. syõkõra or better, syõrĩ-nũ'mya) | yõõ wameõ-maxkõ | f |
| | b) married to maõ-pa-maxkõ | syõ or buhi-bako (pl. buhi-bakokõra) | yõõ maõ-pa-maxkõ | f |
| | c) married into a tribe different from that of the "brides and grooms" | syõ or buhi-bako | yõõ piri-ma | f |
| Co-brother-in-law | yõõ nõ'mõ pẽ-ñã (my wife's brother-in-law) | pesu (pe'su) (pl. pesu-s'ömõa) | | m |
| | yõõ mã-ra-põ buhi-bakõ (my husband's brother-in-law) | | | f |
| Co-sister-in-law | yõõ nõ'mõ buhi-bako (my wife's sister-in-law) | | | m |
| | yõõ mã-ra-põ syõ (my husband's sister-in-law) | nihi-so-paxko (pl. + sa-nũ'mya) | | f |

92. Some mentioned the term "sẽi-mõ (F. sea-mõ) as equivalent to brother-in-law from a tribe different from that of the baxsukãra. They do not know, however, what the plural form would be. According to another informant, "sẽi-mõ" would be a term taken from the Nheengatu language and equivalent to "compatriot," i.e., member of the same tribe or nation.

/471 cont./

614 the division of the original group (107).
121

> 107. It is possible that other reasons might have intervened, such as the misunderstandings that are still verified today.

While the first-born son, with his family, would remain beside the old couple, the other sons of the founder would become, in turn, founders of new malocas, which would grow with the natural fecundity of the native woman. This hypothesis, more in agreement with the nature of things, is confirmed, it seems, by the customs.

614 1st. -- A first one is the denomination of "brother" for all the
• 601 individuals of the same nation (that is, who are recognized as from such-and-such a tribe and speak the same language), a denomination corresponding, besides, to their feelings (they can not marry each other, mutual aid and understanding, lamentation for a death, and vengeance for the brother who has been a victim of another tribe).

All of them are brothers, but there is a distinction between Mamí (bigger brother) and Axkabí (smaller brother). Among the brothers-german, that is, /472/ children of the same father, the terms mamí and axkabí correspond to the ages. Outside of this case, they no longer correspond. For example, one hears an
614 adult characterize a child as mamí. It is, therefore, a matter of a hierarchic classification.

554 An I'ra-pé Tukano said that he regarded the Waú-ro and Oyé
[115] as Mamí; in relation to the Waú-ro we heard the expression
• [192] "Tukano of the head," Dexseá ná dõxpoá," as equivalent to the
[601] principal branch, as was soon explained to us by Patrícia Vasconcelos. We have here, then, indications of an aristocracy (108).

[175] 108. The existence of this aristocracy was already known in 1755 by Pe. Noronha. Xavier de Sampaio

/474 cont./

554 614 [601] 4th. -- The malocas do not date from the same time, some are earlier [illegible] others later, having originated perhaps from some schism. The groups that have been organized more recently always respect the primacy of the older ones, calling them Mamí.

554 614 829 5th. -- The large number of groups that began to appear, however, complicated this hierarchization, hence the practical doubt that assails the Indian in some cases, not being able to say who would have precedence.

797 177 614 2) With the advance of civilization toward those regions, the division is accentuated, and one can discover a double cause for such a fact. The first is the tightening of the family ties and its valorization becoming ever greater, thanks to the support of the religious and civil authorities, and for this reason the family group can already be strong enough by itself. The second is the povoados that appear, consisting of families of different subtribes or even of different tribes. One can foresee, if things go on as they are, that there will no longer be any fusion of tribes, but, instead, a leveling and amalgamation into Brazilian nationality.

This amalgamation is favored not so much by the marriages with the civilized, which up to the present are very rare events, but by the traditional exogamy and knowledge and love of the Brazilian homeland, which has gained ground among these children of the forest, thanks to the work of the Religious Missions and of their schools.

e) Phratrics (sibs) or totemic clans?

619 Just as the Tribe, better called Nation, does not have a chief, neither do its subdivisions, or Subtribes (111),

> 111. Obviously the term Subtribe is improper; just as that of Tribe does not strictly apply to the national assemblage of these natives.

such as we find today, have one. They are not political units, but only ethnic ones.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



quity coincide and so the informal clusterings are strengthened. Thus, when one speaks of sibs within the phratry it is necessary to distinguish between "close" sibs and "distant" sibs. As the discussion of kinship will show, these distinctions between "close" and "distant" sibs are actually expressed in kinship usages. Among the Cubeo, relative ranking of sibs is not as formally expressed as it is among the Tucano tribe. Among the latter, all the lower-ranking sibs of a phratry are junior siblings and are addressed by the term "junior sibling." The highest-ranking sib is "older brother" to all the other sibs (Fulop, 1955).

The basic segment is the sib. A sib is an exogamic, patrilineal, and patrilocal descent group that claims to share a line of descent through males (with some exceptions) back to a founding ancestor at the beginnings. The sense of sib is that of a local group capable of sharing a common residence and of regarding itself as a fraternal kingroup. Sib members may be, and often are, dispersed. This, however, is, in the Cubeo view of things, an abnormal situation. Sib identity, in any case, is never lost. Even women who must marry "out" are forever members of the paternal sib. The sib, as we have already said, has a name. It has a headman, a common residence or sib center, and is on any crucial issue autonomous politically and economically. It may break out of the exogamic grouping of the phratry by moving away and joining another phratric organization. This, however, it will be very reluctant to do. Sibs are not static entities and that is why one cannot obtain an exact count of their number. Fission is an ever active process and reveals itself in what may be called "phases of separation." Within a common residence site most families live in a long house, called in the region a maloca. Others live alongside the maloca in smaller houses. I have called the occupants of the smaller houses "Independents" because of their expressed intention to remain somewhat outside of the jurisdiction of the sib headman.

Some sib members live at a nearby but distinct site with very considerable autonomy, but recognize the main maloca as their sib center. These people are still more estranged from the sib and I have called them "Satellites." The Satellites may estrange themselves to the point of complete separation. They then assume a sib name that is a compound of the original sib name with a new designation and so take on the status of a subsib. A subsib has a strong sentimental attachment to its parent sib, but in all other respects it is autonomous. A Satellite may also give up its satellite standing by rejoining the parent sib. Subsibs are held together by sharing a common sib name and a common genealogy. This is true whether subsibs have been

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



Without a proper sib name, a child will not grow, the Cubeo say. Growth is an attribute of the Ancients. The giving of a name is one of the ways in which the growth magic of the Ancients is utilized. These names from the sib genealogies are not used freely, the Indians preferring to use Christian names and to address one another by a kinship term.

The sib has permanence and it has continuity with the past. The "history" of each sib is known and is recited at all major ceremonial occasions.[5] In narrating sib "history," distinctions are drawn between original sibs, later comers, and the newest-formed sibs. Since ancientness is honorific and the Cubeo have a sentiment of egalitarianism, these distinctions are underplayed. But when people have been drinking and quarreling the matter of ancestry will be brought up.

The tradition of phratric organization is that all its member sibs are kin. Tradition holds, too, that once all sibs of the same phratry were united under a single headman. But this tradition may refer to the scheme of sib rank and the acknowledgment of the leading sib as the "head" rather than to an actual political organization. On the other hand, since there is little doubt but that tribal organization in this region of the Amazon is highly fluid, with smaller segments forming new enlarged formations and enlarged formations breaking up again into smaller and relatively more stable sib segments, the tradition of the phratry as a political unit cannot be dismissed.

The Cubeo distinguish between *kwinâwü* (one kin) and *abéwetema* (they are not ours) in referring to their own phratry and to an opposite phratry. In the past, there may have been at least four phratries, since the traditions speak of one group of sibs as having amalgamated with another. Previously these two groups had intermarried, it is averred. According to one version of the origin myth the sibs of a phratry are all descended from a single water anaconda called *Pwénte ainkü* (Anaconda person), who divided himself into segments, the head becoming the leading sib of the phratry, and each subsequent segment forming the remainder of the sib hierarchy. A variant version states that pairs of anacondas emerged from a crevice among the rocks of a rapids, shed their skins, and formed a brother-sister pair. Subsequently, the sisters married out and the brothers took wives from people they met in their wanderings. The first pair to emerge were the head sib, and they gave names to all that followed

lapsed, out of simple neglect. Also to be considered in this connection is the common Cubeo view that the life of past generations was more severe than it is today.

[5] The text of the *Bakükiwa* "history" follows the sib list in this chapter.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



places upon each sib the responsibility for describing its own history. To be sure, the custom of reciting a sib origin tradition at the regular drinking parties that bring the sibs of a phratry together has probably had the effect of eliminating major discrepancies. I suspect that there are two kinds of sib traditions, those that are recited publicly and so have official standing and those that are talked about and ruminated about within the privacy of the sib or at small multi-sib gatherings. I do not, however, have a collection of official origin traditions. Another reason for discrepancies is that the origin traditions are the most important sanctions for regulating current relationships among sibs. If sibs are close now it is, in Cubeo thought, because they were close in the past; if they are distant now it is surely because of some event in the past, at the time of emergence. The more friendly sibs feel toward one another the closer do they bring together their first origins. When they quarrel they call attention to the initial distance in their origins.

Nevertheless, there are orthodox versions of sib histories that do acknowledge differences in origin. The sibs of what I call Phratry I form two divisions, according to some traditions. One group of sibs is sometimes referred to as *Yavimanawa* (Children of the jaguar).* This group, consisting of *Órobawa*, *Aúnbwawü*, *Hehénewa*, *W'atharíwa*, *Byá-W'atharíwa*, and *Byá-Hehénewa*, is supposed to have emerged together at *Yavíbebo* (Place of the jaguars), a site at the Uaracapurí cataract. The remaining sibs of the phratry had different origins and are not, as far as I could learn, identified by a distinctive name. The *Yavímanawa*, according to this particular tradition, form the core of the phratry, while the others are secondary members. The distinction is not without significance. The rule of exogamy, of course, holds for all members of the phratry. All phratry mates will refer to one another as *pakomá* (kinsman), and will entertain one another and offer ready hospitality. Sibs that are close in origin entertain one another more frequently and can depend upon one another to honor drinking party invitations.

In short, the relationship among the sibs of a phratry is far from uniform, but ranges from a degree of closeness akin to that holding among common residents to such distance that the rule of exogamy can be called into question. The *Hehénewa*, for example, discounting *Bahúkiwa* assertions of closeness, claim that they are so distant from

* This reference to "Children of the jaguar" has, of course, an honorific reference. There is, however, another usage that is derogatory and that is when it is applied to the *Macú*. Giacone (1949, p. 88) reports that Tucanos, Tarianas, and Desanas say that the Macú are not people at all but are *filhos da onca*.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19

# 4

## *Kinship*

539 The focus of Cubeo kinship is the sibling group, of which the
601 brothers form a permanent body, the hard core, so to speak, and the sisters an emotionally close but separable group, since they are the ones who marry out. The sibling group is the model for the extension of terms of consanguinity throughout the phratry.[1] More people are
601 addressed and referred to as "sibling" than by any other term. When
602 the Cubeo speak in Spanish or in Portuguese they identify all their age mates within the range of patrilineal consanguinity as "my brother" or "my sister." Their own language differentiates degrees of sibling closeness, distinguishing lineage brothers, sib brothers, and
[193] phratry brothers. But the linguistic device for drawing these distinctions, by manipulating prefixes and suffixes without altering the stem itself, seems to be a finely contrived compromise between the desire to embrace all patrilineal consanguineal kin within the bonds of brotherhood and the need to deal with the actualities of relationships. The Cubeo are very sensitive to terms of address and so they use terms not merely to designate a precise degree of relationship, but diplomatically, to create a mood of closeness or of distance. I believe this diplomatic use of kinship draws mainly, perhaps exclusively, upon the sibling terms, since all other terms of consanguinity are by comparison of far lesser significance. A phratry brother may be called by the term appropriate for sib or even lineage brother and vice versa. When this is done, the speaker indicates by his manner

[1] There is a list of relationship terms at the end of this chapter.

5? Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
Cubeo



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602 or tone of voice that he is being flattering or is jesting. In the solemn terms of address that people use on ceremonial occasions, relationships, however, are used correctly.

593 The stress being on patriliny and on patrilocality, brothers are permanently held together by common residence in the respective degrees of closeness extending outward from hearth, house, community, adjacent community, and the common river as the usual territory of the phratry. Depending upon the degree of physical closeness, brothers share joint economic and ceremonial activities. In
[574] any case they share common traditions and the highly significant bond of common exogamy. The Cubeo offer hospitality to any kinsman whether consanguineal or affinal. However, when men are traveling along their own river they are made more comfortable by the
601 thought that they will be stopping over at the house of a "brother."
602 Kinsmen, in contrast to in-laws, are *hiwá*, an apt term that means
[193] literally "my group." (*Hi* is the possessive pronoun, *wa* is the suffix indicating the animate collective.)

593 Brothers of the same mother are, contrary to the traditions of pat-

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Fig. 5. Sib group at mourning ceremony.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



593 riliny, the closest of all. On occasions uterine brothers form a common front from which brothers of the same father but of different mothers are excluded. A father expects his sons to stand by him and not by their mother, who is a sib outsider. Yet the simple fact that a woman keeps her own children close to her side, lavishing upon them all her attentions and affection, and ignoring, as much as she can afford, the other of her husband's children by other wives, creates a basis in sentiment for a maternal attachment that no amount of official sib doctrine can override. The attachment to the mother is recognizable in modes of behavior, such as intimacy or susceptibility to cleavage. Uterine brothers also quarrel and part, but they are unlikely to drift apart as readily as can mere agnatic brothers. However, kinship terms draw no distinction between uterine and agnatic brothers. A woman addresses all her husband's sons by the same term, just as her husband does.

593 601 The term for brother of the closest degree embraces lineage as well as blood brothers. Still, a distinction of sorts does enter into kinship usage, through a sister. A girl, as a mother's helper, has a very important role in looking after younger children of the household. Her first responsibility is to her uterine siblings. Like her mother she favors the boy child over the girl. In later years she still calls her younger uterine brother by the affectionate term *trumi*, while reserving the conventional term, *hiyokü*, for an agnatic younger brother. Women, however, take more liberties, generally, in the use of kin terms than do men. They are particularly free with terms that define nearness and intimacy. Thus, a sister's discrimination between uterine and agnatic brother may be regarded not as official usage but as a special female prerogative.

[595] As to formal principles of kinship, the distinction between uterine and agnatic brothers is of no great importance. Most marriages are monogamous and in most families there are no stepchildren. Headmen, however, are generally polygynous, and it is in their households 622 that the distinction assumes some importance. Since a headman's 593 household is a focal point of sib activity, whatever occurs within it 595 will affect the state of being within the sib and ultimately its unity. 614 Should a cleavage develop among brothers of different wives of the headman it could split the sib. Cleavages develop around rivalry for position. A headman's sons are inclined to model themselves after the father and to seek leadership of the community. Since the mantle of leadership will in any case fall upon one of them they are, in any case, virtually obligated to seek leadership. Thus it appears, paradoxically, that the line of cleavage in a sib tends to form at its very

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



center in all respects, among the blood brothers, who are the sons of the headman, the very symbol and guardian of the unity of the sib. The Cubeo attribute the source of this "fault" in the sib to the unruly and passionate nature of women, that does not adapt itself readily to the requirements of the sib. The women are said to be at fault in having drawn their sons too closely to them and in having divided the sons of one wife from those of another. Men deplore this, yet they concede that it is in the nature of a woman to do so. Much of the formal and ceremonial relationship between men and women seems to be designed to overcome this feminine and maternal influence.

All sibling terms indicate relative seniority. If the terms refer to near siblings, that is, to siblings of the same sib, their seniority refers strictly to relative age. When sibling terms are used among members of different sibs in the phratry, then the forms of senior-junior indicate respect. An older person may then use the senior term in addressing a younger person. Men may use the senior term in referring to a member of a higher-ranking clan, or, apart from formal rank, to pay respect to a phratry mate who has been generous. Among the Cubeo, rank and seniority are marked by giving more than receiving. Thus, a generous and hospitable person can come to be an "older brother." Women pay respect to men by using the senior term – outside the sib – rather freely. It is a pleasing relationship for a woman to have an older brother and for a man to have a younger sister. When a woman addresses a man as "younger brother" she cannot help but endow the term with an almost maternal tenderness. She finds it more comfortable, one might say, to address a more distant sibmate as "older brother."

There is a more formal usage of terms of relative seniority that acknowledges the ranking of sibs. My information of these seniority usages, coming only from the *Bahúkiwa*, is therefore incomplete. According to the *Bahúkiwa*, all men of the head *Órabawa* sib who are of one's own generation are addressed as *mamũ*, the stem term for "older brother," while the reciprocal term that is applied to them by the *Órabawa* is *hwa*, the stem term for "youngster." In the case of the *Bahúkiwa* relations with three sibs of the phratry, the *Pedíkwa*, the *Kenánikauwũ*, and the *Piaráwa*, the women of the *Bahúkiwa* address the women of these three as *amikó*, the somewhat more distant form for "older sister," and are called in turn *hwainyó*, or "youngster." Though in the case of the *Órabawa* the seniority usage applies only to the men, in the latter case the usage applies only to the women. My informants could not account for the latter usages

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



601 614 [554] although they understood the *Órabawa* usage very well. The *Pedíkwa* are, of course, a sib with high status because they occupy a cataract on the Cuduiarí that they regard as an original emergence site. The *Kendnikauwü* are a subsib of the *Pedíkwa*. In the case of these two sibs I would hazard the guess that it is their present association with an emergence site that warrants this respect usage. In the case of the *Piardwa* I have no explanation other than the suggestion from Koch-Grünberg's information that since they call themselves *Old-Piardwa* they may actually be a subsib of the *Órabawa* and hence have a special claim to respect.

In the neighboring Tucano tribe the seniority usages among the sibs of each phratry are very systematically developed (Fulop, 1955). By comparison the *Bahúkiwa* seniority respect usages with other sibs are only fragmentary.

561 571 [622] [857] [614] [796] [622] Distinctions of relative age have their counterparts in behavior. Seniority commands precedence in succession to the headmanship in the household of the headman. In all households seniority is accorded respect and ritual precedence. Among children, the eldest of a play group is expected to be leader. When members of a sib come to attend a ceremony at another sib house they present themselves at the door in order of seniority and are greeted by a receiving line also formed in order of seniority. During the early stages of a ceremony, when all is still formal, chicha, coca, tobacco, and *mihí* are also passed among sibmates in order of seniority. Seniority cannot be said to confer authority, however, since the Cubeo are reluctant to endow anyone with authority. Even the headman governs by a principle that is not quite that of authority.

561 562 796 [622] [593] [614] [553] As between men and women, seniority has a different significance, because of the ritual separation of the sexes. In the etiquette of ceremony women take precedence according to the order of precedence of their husbands and not by their own relative age. The wife of a headman has a position vis à vis the women of the house as her husband has in the sib generally. An older sister who has been a substitute mother to all her younger siblings is regarded by them with a mixture of respect and affection. In later years, should she return to the sib as a widow, a divorcée, or with her husband, a ceremonial role is open to her as sib "mother," from whose breast may be drawn the ritual milk that an infant drinks at the time a sib name is being bestowed upon it.

593 561 584 A younger sister has a special role with respect to an older brother. She is often assigned to him for use in an exchange that will bring him a bride. As an older sister is a "mother" to her younger brother

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



so an older brother is *amyóbakü* (older brother-father) to his younger sister. He is her guardian. He may arrange her marriage, or offer her sexually to a friend, if she is willing. It is a special relationship in many respects.

Seniority is of consequence only in the sibling generation. There is no concept of senior line and no recognition in terminology of descendants of older or younger siblings.

Apart from sex and seniority, Cubeo sibling terms also demarcate social distance. They differentiate, as already noted, three degrees of sibling closeness: lineage sibling, near phratry sibling, and distant phratry sibling. They do so, ingeniously, by the linguistic device of using a common root for sibling – this usage is only in the senior term, because only the senior term is important – indicating distance or closeness by the use of appropriate prefixes and suffixes. The root for senior sibling of either sex is *ami*. With the possessive prefix *hi* and the gender suffix *ko* or *kü* (*himámiko*, *-kü*) it connotes utmost closeness and is applied to older brother and sister of one's own family, including the extended joint family or lineage. Since sib and lineage may often be coextensive these terms are also sib-wide. The term *himámiko* (my older sister) does not apply to a mother's sister's daughter unless she happens to be – via brother-sister exchange marriage – a father's brother's daughter as well. The intimate usage, that is, must also correspond with coresidence. One's own sister, to be sure, does marry out, but in the meantime there has been a long period of coresidence. In any case, there is not the slightest tendency to slur over a nuclear kinship relationship. In the case of father's brother's daughter the intimate term applies only when she is still a coresident. After she has married she falls into the next more distant category.

The second range of kinship intimacy is the most widespread of all, including sib, subsib, and all close sibs within the phratry. It may even be applied to all members of the phratry of one's generation, in which case the third and most distant form of sibling terminology is reserved for those people whom one does not know well. The terms used in this second range are *amiyó* and *amikó*. The suffix *yo* conveys the meaning of "such as" or "one who is of the class of." It is also used in the term *bakūdyó* (father's brother) and means literally "one who is in the class of a father." In *amiyó* it means, therefore, "one who is in the class of an older brother." Strictly speaking, the suffix *yo* has no sex gender and if it were applied to a woman would constitute no major linguistic blunder. But since one's contacts are almost invariably with male siblings, the sisters normally at a distance, the

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



term has apparently taken on a masculine meaning and *amikó* is used to specify the female. A term *amikû* does not exist to my knowledge. With the loss of the possessive prefix *hi* some of the intimacy has gone out of the term. Nevertheless, being diplomatic in their use of kinship terms, the Cubeo sometimes employ the form *himámiyo* and so give the term a warmer tone.

Finally, the most distant usage is to employ only the stem *mamû* ("older one") equally to male and female to connote the barest sibling relationship. I never heard this term used because, I suppose, the Cubeo find it too formal. Rather than call a person *mamû* they prefer the more cordial *pakomá* (kinsman). The special respect use of this term for men of the head sib has already been described.

The junior sibling term is rather unusual. I am inclined to regard it as a quasi-kinship term because it has equally a kinship and an age-grade connotation. *Hwainyó* means literally "one who is in the class of youths." Like *amiyó* it can refer to females, but *hwainkó* is the special term for a younger sib and phratry sister. Because it is an age-grade term, the kinship meaning of *hwainyó* is so wide that it has come to mean any person of sib or phratry who is younger either by relative age within one's generation or is of a younger generation. When it is used as the reciprocal for *amiyó*, as a respect term, it refers to one to whom one condescends somewhat as a donor or good Samaritan. It would seem that the Cubeo have developed only the senior term as a true kinship term and have given seniors the prerogative of addressing all their juniors, whether by age or status, simply as "youth." Nor is the term bound by phratry, since it is applied to all grandchildren (male or female) who are not of the lineage. *Hwainyó* also means son-in-law and any nephew or niece. *Hwainkó* is the daughter-in-law. *Hwankû* is a serviceable male form giving it somewhat greater intimacy and thus is limited generally to younger men of one's own sib or of closely related sibs. The abbreviated form *hwa*, a more jocular term, is also used.

## BROTHER-SISTER RELATIONSHIP

Lineage brothers and sib brothers are joined by all the strong bonds of a localized patrilineal sib organization. The obligations of lineage brothers toward one another are very little less binding than those of blood brothers, and the obligations of sib brothers, while somewhat less binding, are still considered to be strong. But these brotherly ties are general and taken for granted, whereas the relationship between brother and sister, as indeed that between husband

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



## PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIP

593 604 [601] The Cubeo distinguish between father and father's brothers, but do not distinguish between mother and mother's sisters. The term *bakü̈dyó* means "like a father."[2] This distinction conveys rather precisely the actualities of the relationship. Relations between fathers and sons (the daughters are linked in household duties with the mother) are intimate, and one important sign of intimacy is the privilege that a youngster has of taking food from his father before it is brought into the maloca or into the individual household. Boys value this privilege enormously when they are preadolescent. Without a father a boy will be fed by his father's brother but will lack this privilege with food that he had with his own father. The relationship between paternal uncle and nephew is a strongly supportive one, but with restraint in it. A boy does not take or handle objects belonging to his father's brother without permission. With his father's possessions he has the same freedom as with the possessions of his sibmates of his own generation.

593 601 604 [587] [595] Parents and children share an exclusive set of kinship terms and thereby set themselves apart from the fraternal joint family. Even though mother and mother's sister are equated, a woman distinguishes, as does her husband, between her own and her sister's children. The equation of mother and mother's sister is normal clan usage in a classificatory system. Among the Cubeo, this equation is not related either to the sororate or to sororal polygyny. It would seem to correspond rather to the principle of generalizing relationships that are less important and differentiating very sharply relationships that are most important. With respect to the term for "mother," this is not to say that the actual relationship between children and mother lacks real importance, but only that from the point of view of patriliny of the sib the incoming females, such as mothers, are less important. Actually, the feeling for one's own mother is very strong, not only on the part of the daughters but on the part of the sons too. In a polygynous household the sons of the same mother share a close link with one another; and as we have

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[2] Koch-Grünberg, who stayed with a *Hendnewa* group at the mouth of the Cuduiarí, reported that father and father's brother were equated, as were mother and father's sister (1909, II, 82). Since he did not use the genealogical method it is likely that he was in error with respect to both reported usages. The equation of mother with father's sister controvenes, of course, the patriliny of the sib. On the other hand, the grouping of father and father's brother is conceivable since the distinction between *bakü* and *bakü̈dyó* is not great for the Cubeo. In calling attention to this difference of information I should add that the nature of the Cubeo tribe is such that variations in minor usages are perhaps to be expected.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



already noted, cleavages between siblings commonly occur at this point, the sons of one mother breaking with the sons of another. Thus, the distinction between terms for father and father's brother is associated with subtle differences in behavior, yet the grouping of mother with mother's sister ignores even greater distinctions in behavior.

The father's sister is *panimó*, a term built on the root *pani*, which means "in-law." Although a woman of the sib, she rates as an in-law because her daughter is normally eligible as a cross-cousin marriage partner. *Panimó* also means "mother-in-law." There are no formal avoidances with a mother-in-law. Ordinarily, because of the rules of residence, a man sees little of his mother-in-law.

Mother's brother (*paniyó*) is a parallel relative to father's sister. He is father-in-law. There are no formal avoidances in this relationship. The important relationship is between a woman and her father-in-law. There is a good deal of restraint between these two. The father-in-law is her mentor on moral issues, and if she commits adultery he will often act in the matter before his son does. Reserve between father-in-law and daughter-in-law is eased after a time but never lapses. The Cubeo defend the unity of the sib by regarding the in-marrying women as permanent strangers. It is the father-in-law as a sib elder who is expected to enforce the separateness. Coupled with this reserve and, in a sense, counteracting it, is the fact that he calls her *hwainkó*. Reserve prevents sexual joking, licentious bodily contact, and other undue levity. It does not bar the father-in-law from beating his daughter-in-law. Father-in-law and son-in-law may refer to one another by the common term, *pani*. Between father-in-law and son-in-law there is only the reserve of unfamiliarity. But when a man does come with his wife to visit her parents he is warmly welcomed as a son and is drawn into all common activities. The visit of a daughter is so exciting an occasion for the Cubeo that the son-in-law is readily tempted in the aura of warmth and good cheer to prolong his stay.

The terms that siblings apply to one another's children are only partially based on considerations of the marriage possibilities between their young. Primarily, the children of siblings are regarded as "youngsters." As juniors they merit generalized terms. Thus, the common terms for nephew and niece within the sib are respectively *hwainyó* and *hwainkó*. The son of a sibling of opposite sex is *pani* – an in-law – but the daughter is not. She enters the household as *hwainkó*. Again we notice the neutral character of the term. *Hwainkó* is not a term of the sib necessarily. The point is, rather, that it is not

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



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[601] a term that connotes out-of-the-sib, as does *pani*. Thus, Cubeo usage with respect to daughter-in-law points up again the strength of their feelings about membership in the common residence group.

The problematical relatives are the mother's sister's children. There is no problem if they are also father's brother's children, or if they have been born within one phratry. But since mother's sisters [615] marry into other phratries or into other tribes, their children are in effect strangers who belong to their paternal sib or tribe. They are [582] not included in the kinship system, they are lost sight of, and such parallel cousins one may marry since they do not belong to the phratry.

## GRANDPARENT-GRANDCHILD RELATIONSHIP

603 The two grandparent terms, *nyéko* (*kũ*) and *nyekundjó*, refer to
601 all kin of the generation of grandparents and beyond, irrespective
614 of sib or phratry affiliation. Correspondingly, their reciprocals
615 (*panaihinkũ*, *-ko* and *hipanimekũ*, *-ko*) do not differentiate between a child of the sib or phratry and a child outside the sib or phratry. The grandchild terms are all formed of the *pani* stem from which affinal terms are constructed. *Panaihinkũ* means "my very little in-law," and *hipanimekũ* means "of my in-law line." The ignoring of sib lines for grandparents seems to follow from the simple fact that at this generation level exogamy is not an issue.

603 I could get no explanation from the Cubeo as to why the grand-
601 child should be classed with the affinal line. It may result from the
[593] Cubeo interpretation of cross-cousin marriage. Brother and sister
[584] negotiate for the marriage to one another of their children and so would be inclined to regard the offspring of that marriage as a con-
[614] tribution from the affinal line to the sib. Often enough, however, I have encountered the use of the descriptive terms such as *himãkũ-makũ* (my son's son) to distinguish between a lineal descendant of the sib and other grandchildren.

601 Elders of a distant sib of the phratry may be addressed and referred
[614] to as "grandparent" even if of one's own generation. Their children
[615] consequently are called "father" or "mother." In these usages the reciprocal is always *hwainyó* or *hwainkó* and never a specific "child" or "grandchild" term. Among the Tucano, Fulop (1955) has noted that one of the sibs of a phratry is the "grandparent" to all the others so that all persons of one's own generation in that sib are "grandparents." If this is also the case among the Cubeo of the Cuduiarí then the fact must have escaped my notice. This usage of grandparent

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



This usage of grandparent terms is different from the seniority respect usages previously discussed, because "older sibling" among the Cubeo has a formal connotation of respect, whereas the grandparent term is a genial one as in English. 601 • 561

## CROSS-COUSINS

Cross-cousins of the same sex often have a relationship that is formed by the fact that they have been principals in a brother-sister exchange marriage. Since their parents, who were siblings of the opposite sex, were also principals in arranging such a marriage, they have shared in some of the intimacy of relationship between these two. Cross-cousins of the same sex have, of course, little contact with one another, but having so much in common, their relationship tends to be a warm one. It is a curious relationship, in that it also has in it a latent threat of trouble, trouble that arises from marital discord. As already noted, one of the expectations of a brother-sister exchange marriage from the male viewpoint is that if his wife leaves him he can get his sister to leave her husband in retaliation. He believes that he can apply pressure upon his cross-cousin brother-in-law to send back the runaway wife or face the breakup of his own marriage. Thus, what begins as a family squabble in one community may embroil a happy marriage in the affinal community. The expectation that a woman will leave her husband only because her brother wants her to is in practice a vain hope, unless he has the cooperation of his male cross-cousin brother-in-law, who urges the woman, his sister, to return to her husband. 605 605 586 593

Cross-cousins of opposite sex refer to one another as *hitcimako* or *hitcimakü*, the possessive prefix connoting closeness. By contrast, *teimä* has the connotation of distance. The relationship between cross-cousins of opposite sex is governed by the customs of courtship and is, therefore, an individual matter. 605 [601] [193]

## THE AFFINAL GROUP

Among affinals there are two principal relationships. The most important is that between parents and children-in-law, the *pani* relationship. This relationship is both consanguineal and affinal since it includes the children of siblings of opposite sex and reciprocally the cross aunt and uncle. The Cubeo draw no distinction, incidentally, between parents and their children-in-law who are of the consanguineal kin and those who may be complete strangers. The emphasis in 606

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



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[591] this group is on the affinal relationship. Because of patrilocal resi-
[601] dence it is the daughter-in-law who occupies a special position. She is *hwainkó* (younger female), a term that receives her with familiarity and some condescension as an in-group member. A daughter-in-law is considered to be at first a replacement for a daughter who has married out, and she lives for a time under the jurisdiction of her mother-in-law, helping her in gardening and in all food preparation. A woman tries to keep her daughter-in-law within her household as long as possible, speaking of her not as her son's wife but as a replacement for her daughter who has been lost to her by marriage. One aspect of the relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is stereotyped, and that is the tug of war between a woman's desire to keep her daughter-in-law within her jurisdiction and the desire of the young wife to win autonomy by cultivating her own garden. For the rest, the relationship depends upon the interplay of personalities and upon the circumstance of whether the bride is a foreigner or a brother's daughter or a member of the brother's sib or phratry. When a child has been born and a woman has her own garden, she and her
[601] mother-in-law achieve a relationship of greater equality. Terminology does not change, even though the reference to an elderly woman as *hwainkó* may seem incongruous. The term defines the relationship at its inception.

[867] It is the role of a woman to introduce her daughter-in-law to the
[868] economic routines and to the local customs of the community, a task that would be inappropriate for her husband. Since the Cubeo often marry women who do not even speak their language or dialect the initial period of tutelage is most important, even though the Cubeo do not stress this feature of what is really an apprenticeship.

The relationship with a son-in-law is governed by the circumstance that he normally does not become a member of the community. At best he will be a visitor who joins in the male activities. His relationship with his mother-in-law is one of restraint rather than of formal
[601] avoidance. It is perhaps for this reason that she addresses him as *hwainyó*. His relationship with his father-in-law, on the other hand, borders on intimacy and is predicated upon the equality of men engaged in their common tasks of hunting, fishing, and the conduct of ceremonies. Perhaps it is this equality that governs the use of *pani* or *paniyó* as a reciprocally used term between father-in-law and son-in-law.

607 The other set of affinal relationships recognized by the Cubeo are
601 those involving spouse's siblings, for whom a variety of terms are applied. The general affinal term is *kodjú* or its plural form *hikódju-*

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19



*mana* (my in-law group). These generalized terms are most appropriate in referring to members of a phratry into which one has married. They have a connotation of a claim to hospitality and of expectation of further intermarriage. Of this group of terms there is also *hikódjumu*, that is used reciprocally between men – sister's husband and wife's brother as well as sister's husband's brothers and brother's wife's brothers. Across the sexes women call their sister's husband's brothers as well as their husband's brothers *hikápenámu* and are called by these men *hikápenamo*. Women call their husband's sisters *hiwemu* and are called by them *dyáko*. *Dya* is a very general term that may be applied reciprocally between any actual in-laws of the same generation. Finally, I have an alternate term for spouse's siblings, *hihawükimana*, and the term *kibü* for brother's son's wife. What may be observed about the affinal terms in own generation is that affinals are generally not confused with cross-cousins. As we have noted, the *trimá* usage, which has the connotation of "sweetheart" for the Cubeo, is entirely inappropriate when one of them has married. Should a man be courting his brother's wife's sister, who is his cross-cousin, she is his *trimá*, or rather *hitcimako*. If not, courtesy calls for the use of the affinal terms.

## ORPHANS AND STEPCHILDREN

The treatment of orphans and stepchildren underscores the importance of the actual blood tie for the Cubeo. Parents lavish affection only on their own children. While a woman is obligated to look after all her husband's children, this need mean nothing more than that she feed them. That she will favor her own children and neglect or treat the others harshly is more or less expected. A man does not expect his second wife to accept as her own his children by another wife. A girl with a stepmother has a more difficult time than a boy, since women generally favor their sons and are harsh with daughters. The mother is her daughter's disciplinarian in household work. Her son is the little lord of the household, his sister its slavey. Stepdaughters are set the most burdensome tasks while own daughters are then freer to play. Own daughters then make common cause with their mother at the stepdaughter's expense. Since the father does not mix in the female side of the household he can do little to improve his daughter's lot with her stepmother.

A boy with a stepmother is less underprivileged. His is the male prerogative of being looked after by a woman, his mother or his sisters. He has his male play pack for companionship and can look

5: Goldman E/-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



● 601

KINSHIP TERMS

*nyéko* Grandmother and all old women of grandparent generation of maternal and paternal lines, as well as older women of an opposite phratry, regardless of generation.

*nyékundjó* Grandfather and all old men of grandparent generation of the lineage and of the sib, including maternal or paternal lineages.

*nyékü* "Grandfather": all old men of own phratry or of opposite phratry regardless of lineage.

*bakó* or *hipako* Mother, mother's sisters, all women married to father's brothers, and all mothers of sib brothers.

*bakü* or *badjü* or *hipakü* Own father, as well as sons of men of the phratry who are called *nyékü*. (*Badjü* is the affectionate term.)

*baküdyó* Father's brother and all father's sib brothers.

*himámjko* My own and lineage older sister.

*himámikü* My own and lineage older brother.

*hiyoko* My own and lineage younger sister.

*hiyokü* My own and lineage younger brother.

*amiyó* My older sib or phratry brother; includes all male parallel cousins, but only those mother's sisters' sons who are of the phratry.

*amikó* My older sib or phratry sister; includes all female parallel cousins, but only those mother's sisters' daughters who are of the phratry.

*hwainyó* "Youngster." It is applied to all children of siblings, to all younger male parallel cousins of the sib and phratry, to all children of sib brothers, and to all of grandchild generation of the phratry who are outside of the lineage.

*hwainkó* The female counterpart of *hwainyó*. It is also the term for daughter-in-law.

*hwankü* An alternative form of *hwainyó* generally restricted to younger men of a close sib in the phratry.

*hwa* A short and colloquial form of *hwainyó* used between younger men of same generation of the phratry without necessary regard for relative age.

*mamü* A variant form of amiyó that is used only between members of different sibs of the same phratry.

*mamüko* The female counterpart of *mamü*.

*amyóbakü* Literally "older brother-father." A special respect term a woman applies to an older brother.

*himako* My own daughter.

*himakü* My own son.

*hipanimeko* Granddaughter of the maternal or paternal lineage.

*hipanimekü* Grandson of the maternal or paternal lineage.

*panaihinko* Granddaughter (literally "my little in-law") and alternative and more affectionate reference.

*panaihinkü* Grandson, counterpart of *panaihinko*.

*tcumi* Generalized affectionate term for male grandchild (literally "little one"). Can be extended as an affectionate term toward any younger male, but only by a woman.

*tcúmiko* Female counterpart of *tcumi*. Only a woman would use it for a younger sister.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
COBEO



601 •

*pakomá* Kinsman (male or female) of my own phratry.
*tcimá* Cross-cousin of my own sex.
*hitcimako* Female cross-cousin (m.s.),[a] wife's sister.
*hitcimakü* Male cross-cousin (w.s.),[b] husband's brother.
*hipánimo* Mother-in-law, father's sister (m.s., w.s.).
*hipániyo* Father-in-law, mother's brother (m.s., w.s.).
*pani* Generalized term for parent-in-law or child-in-law.
*himanipako* Wife (literally "my children's mother").
*himanipakü* Husband (literally "my children's father").
*tcumipako* or *tcumipakü* These are alternative terms for husband and wife with colloquial connotations.
*kodjü* Generalized term for members of a phratry into which one marries.
*hikápenamu* Husband's brother, sister's husband (w.s.).
*hikápenamo* Wife's sister, brother's wife (m.s.).
*hikódjumana* My sibling's spouse, a generalized term.
*hikódjumu* My sister's husband (m.s.).
*hikáwükimana* My spouse's sibling.
*hikópwimana* Wife's brother in an exchange marriage.
*hiwemu* Husband's sister.
*dyako* Reciprocal of *hiwemu*.
*dya* Any in-law of one's own generation.
*kibü* Brother's son's wife.
*hiwá* Any relative (literally "my people").

601
572

**CEREMONIAL FRIENDSHIP TERMS**

*hikünahu* A very close friend.
*hihwimu* My male friend (w.s.).
*djurá hwiyo*[c] My female friend (m.s.).
*hikü* Generalized term for male friend.
*hiko* Generalized term for female friend.
*adjurá hwinomwa* Ceremonial friendship between two women.

[a] Man speaking.
[b] Woman speaking.
[c] *Djurá* has the connotation of "sweetheart."

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



walks by. If she runs from him toward her manioc garden his quest is over. Since it is the girl who must indicate acceptance by inviting coitus, the young man comes prepared with love charms. One of these is an extract of *ilwe*, the plant associated with the ancestral cult, a symbol of power and virility, which he sprinkles upon her when she is unaware. This makes her desire him very passionately. After marriage a man uses what is apparently an antiaphrodisiac charm to keep his wife faithful.

Actually a wedding party is engaged in three levels of negotiation simultaneously, all three of which must be successful. The first is the courtship, the second is the discussions going on between the parents and the elders of the party over the terms of the marriage, and the third is the discussion between the groom and his *tcimá*, his male cross-cousin, the bride's brother. The *tcimá* is involved because a daughter will not be let go unless a return bride can be secured for him. It is up to the groom to promise the *tcimá* his own sister in return. Since no marriage is honorable that does not establish a proper relationship with an affinal sib, a man would be a scoundrel if he eloped with a girl without paying heed to these formal matters. Normally there are no difficulties, since the courtship would not get very far if the *tcimá* or the parents were seriously dissatisfied with the terms of marriage.

It is typical of the Cubeo that the atmosphere in which these three levels of negotiation are conducted is a genial one. Their mode of hospitality assures this by drawing guests fully into the life of the maloca and of the community – the groom joining the age group of his *tcimá*, the elders picking up corresponding social roles in their age group. The wife of a visiting elder is assigned a section of manioc garden. The point is that a guest who is going to spend more than a few days is as near as possible "at home." It is when the people feel at ease in their familiar roles in a new setting that they get down to business. When the marriage party has left with its bride it has also succeeded in strengthening the ties of friendship with an affinal sib and has overcome in practice the general theory that an affinal is a hostile sib of the tribe.

This mood of geniality is not achieved, nor is it sought for, in all circumstances. When the marriage is intertribal the courtship is conducted in an atmosphere of strain that is almost impossible to overcome. The bride's sib cannot be easily consoled at the loss of a daughter. When the marriage does occur they feel that they have been tricked in some way. They resent the girl's willingness to go off; they are mistrustful of the bride price and the promised exchange

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



539 woman was very pretty and *Kúwai* was happy. He named her "Carved Woman." He took her home as his wife and drove out the other woman. *Mamũwũ* came along and asked *Kúwai*, "Are you living alone?" *Kúwai* told him what had happened. This made *Mamũwũ* angry and he took "Carved Woman" away from *Kúwai*. Now *Kúwai* lived alone and went about looking for another wife. He sat upon the branch of a tree and wept. Then along came Otter. He asked *Kúwai* why he was weeping. *Kúwai* told him that *Mamũwũ* had taken away his wife. Otter then told *Kúwai* where his wife was living. He led *Kúwai* to a beautifully painted house that was under the river. There *Kúwai* saw his wife. He seized her and fetched her home to Urania. One day *Kúwai* saw an angry *Mamũwu* come after him. In fright *Kúwai* leaped up and fled. He never returned. He is now living at Carurú on the Vaupés without a wife.

In another version *Kúwai* cut down a tree and carved it into the form of a woman. He brought it to his grandmother and asked her to make all the body parts that belong to a woman. He returned to find that his grandmother had completed a beautiful woman. This woman did not know where she had come from. She went to the river to fetch water. An anaconda came by and copulated with her. Each day when she went for water the anaconda came and they copulated. *Kúwai* noticed this. One day he watched, and when his wife and the anaconda were copulating, *Kúwai* blew a dart from his blowgun very high into the air. It came down with great force, struck the anaconda in the back, and killed him. *Kúwai* seized the anaconda and cut off his penis. He transformed it into four minnows which he gave to his wife to eat. As she ate the minnows, *Kúwai* told her she was eating the penis of her lover. The woman spit out the food and went to the river to look for her lover, but he did not appear. *Kúwai* then threw his wife away and she became a tree again.

In a third version the saddened wife, awaiting the return of her anaconda lover at the river, was disappointed when only a little anaconda "as thin as a string" appeared to tell her that her lover was dead.

[581] It is perhaps indicative of Cubeo attitudes on marital stability that *Kúwai* is depicted as ultimately unsuccessful in marriage, and, disillusioned with the faithlessness of woman, retires to live in solitude on a nearby hilltop.

593 601 The terms for spouse, *himanípako* (wife) and *himanípakũ* (husband), denote the important emphasis in marriage. These terms mean literally "my children's mother" and "my children's father." Before children are born husband and wife address one another simply with the common expression hápyako (listen!).

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



the common expression *hápyako* (listen!). It would not be correct to say that children "seal the marriage." Children, however, do give a marriage its full status. Until her first child is born a wife may remain as part of her mother-in-law's household. Thereafter she automatically achieves her independence, with her own garden and her own hearth. The equality of the spouse terms is also significant, corresponding to the economic and symbolic complementarity of male and female, husband and wife. Although an outsider in a patrilineal and patrilocal sib, the Cubeo wife is not "inferior" to her husband

The relationship between husband and wife depends largely upon personal factors, to be sure. Still, there are some cultural standards for the people to follow. One of these is the keeping of physical distance in public. One does not observe among the *Bahúkiwa* informal or spontaneous gestures of intimacy between husband and wife. They rarely touch one another in public. This lack of physical contact is all the more marked because the Cubeo are in other respects a tactile people. Men embrace one another, women caress one another, and at drinking parties there is a certain amount of heterosexual body contact. But even then, husband and wife keep their distance. There are, however, specific public gestures of intimacy between husband and wife, but these are formal and are in the nature of obligations. A woman applies decorative paint to her husband, delouses his head, and scrapes insect scabs from his skin. These are all intimate gestures to the Cubeo. They are done in public and only in preparation for a ceremony.

The marital relationship is to be understood, I believe, as falling within the range of respect behavior appropriate to members of different phratries. It is incumbent upon the man, furthermore, to uphold his solidarity with his male sibmates by imposing public distance upon his wife. Male solidarity begins early in life and, in any case, is not readily yielded up after marriage. There is a relationship, as well, between connubial distance, as we may call it, and the frequency of tribal exogamy. In many marriages husband and wife cannot even understand one another fully because they speak different dialects or languages. It would seem that the pattern of connubial distance helps make such marriages more tolerable since there is no expectation of sudden intimacy. Lack of privacy makes it easy for public pressure to enforce the rule of distance.

With time, of course, husband and wife develop more ease, more intimacy, and more affection for one another. These new relationships will be revealed in manner of address and facial expression rather than by touch.

197 as Tukanoan by contrast with Indian languages of other families. After a person becomes familiar with one of them, the other Eastern Tukanoan languages begin to sound different to him; but the "Tukano ear," while helpful in recording Eastern Tukanoan languages, turns out not to be helpful in recording phonetic detail from languages outside of the Eastern Tukanoan family. The speaker-hearer of an Eastern Tukanoan language is culturally very sensitive to the fine phonetic detail, which he perceives in the form of an "accent." Such detail varies considerably from language to language and, even within some languages, from region to region.

194 Phonologically, differences in accent reflect a number of things: allophonic fronting of vowels, or lowering of vowels; more opening or less opening of the mouth during production of the vowels; incomplete (versus complete) closure of obstruents in syllables that are not marked by strong stress; more or less contouring of canonically level tones in given environments. These differences are mostly very subtle in quality, and usually speaker-hearers are unable to describe the specific phonological details involved in what they hear as an "accent."

193 The morphologies of these languages are generally similar, but they vary considerably on specific points. There can even be said to be an Eastern Tukanoan type, but each language still has its own distinctive differences. For instance, most Eastern Tukanoan languages have only two general forms for person in the verbal paradigm, but not all: Piratapuyo has three. The participial system seems to be more developed in some languages than in others. In lexicon, there is again general similarity, but not coincidence, between languages. In the exceptional area of kinship terminology, for example, more relatives may be distinguished in one language than in another, and what appear to be cognate terms in two languages may not refer to the same relative.

[601]

191 I have observed that when an Indian knows how to speak two closely related languages (of the sort connected by "and" in the appendix), he carefully and even consciously keeps them apart. It has occurred to me that the exogamic and other cultural institutions to be discussed below may be exerting a force that makes a speaker want to render closely related languages farther apart, even to an artificial extent, but so far I have detected no